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created with great and overwhelming shortages of both material and trained human resources are, not surprisingly, attracted by the radical solutions of communism that hold out the promise of higher standards of living.

We cannot expect any long-range practical improvement in the economic conditions of the underdeveloped countries unless there be political stability within these nations. And we cannot expect long-range political stability among any peoples who continue to be ill housed, ill clothed, ill fed. We must be bold enough to proclaim that henceforth we shall include as an integral part of our foreign aid program, enough of the natural resources that abound in our land, and in the land of those countries, and the manufacturing know-how to provide, at least, the very fundamental human needs of those crying out for assistance.

FREEDOM OF INFORMATION

Mr. FULBRIGHT, Mr. President, I have recently had an interesting exchange of correspondence with Mr. V. M. Newton, Jr., of the Tampa Tribune regarding freedom of information and other matters.

Mr. Newton sent copies of his letters to me to several newspapermen, at least some of whom have commented upon them in the press. In order that the complete correspondence may be in the public domain, I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Newton's letters to me and my replies be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the correspondence was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

JUNE 6, 1961.

Mr. V. M. Newton, Jr.
The Tampa Tribune, Tampa, Fla.

DEAR MR. NEWTON: I have your further letters of May 24 and May 30.

In my earlier letter of May 25, I think I said about all that can usefully be said on the problems you raise, and I am not sure that any useful purpose is served by prolonging this correspondence indefinitely. However, I feel impelled to set the record straight in regard to some points you raise in your letter of May 30.

It is simply not true that all records of the Federal Government are closed to public inspection.

It is not true that all Appropriations Committee meetings are held secretly. The Senate Appropriations Committee holds many public hearings every year. Furthermore, even in the case of secret meetings, most of the information elicited there is subsequently made public.

It is simply not true that the American bureaucracy never has accounted to the American people for one penny of the \$75 billion in foreign aid funds which it has spent since 1945.

What bothers me most about your letter, however, is the thread that runs through it of distrust of politicians as a class. It seems to me that this leads to the kind of cynicism which has historically been destructive of democracy and free institutions. I am a politician and proud of it. If you are any other citizen disagrees with the policies I advocate or the actions I take, you are free to try to defeat me at the next election and replace me with another politician whose views you find more agreeable. But in any kind of a representative government, this has got to be done through political action,

which necessarily will be led by politicians. If you reach the point of complete distrust of politicians as a class, I do not see how you can make a political system, which is based on political action, work.

As I have said before, I think certain agencies of this Government frequently try to keep secret things which should not be secret. But what bothers me even more is the fact that the large body of public information which is available to the press and to our people is not more widely disseminated, discussed, and understood.

The first notice I had of your May 30 letter came from a wire service which received it before I did. In order that our full exchange of correspondence may be readily available, I intend to insert all of it in the Congressional Record.

Sincerely yours,

J. W. FULBRIGHT,
Chairman.

THE TAMPA TRIBUNE,
Tampa, Fla., May 30, 1961.

Senator J. W. FULBRIGHT,
U.S. Senate Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR FULBRIGHT: Thank you for your thoughtful letter of May 25. I agree in part and I disagree in part with your thinking on the matter of the apathy of the American people toward government.

Let me say at the outset that I regard you as by far the most brilliant Member of the U.S. Senate. Time and again I have quoted statements from your speeches in the Senate in my own speeches around the country. And I say sincerely that our country needs the application of your brilliant brain to this problem, which must be solved if we are to survive as a free country, and that is why I wrote you originally and am taking the time and trouble of these succeeding letters.

I agree with your statement that some of the confusion and bafflement of the American people can be attributed to the "bigness" of government which you say is "unavoidable." In 10 years, I have been unable to find a person either in or out of government who could tell me the exact number of departments, agencies, bureaus, commissions, etc. in Washington. I remember also that in 1957 the U.S. Senate declined to go along with the House of Representatives in a bill that would have forced the 5,000 advisory Federal bureaus to reveal their identities to the people and to keep public minutes of their secret meetings.

You state: "Nevertheless, this is by far the most open Government that has ever existed."

I cannot possibly agree with this statement simply because the facts belie it. The United States did have the most open Government up until the Roosevelt Administration. Here are the facts today:

1. All records of the Federal Government, including those pertaining to the expenditure of the tax funds, are closed to the inspection of the American citizens who pay the tax funds.

2. Most actions and decisions of Federal Government are taken secretly and are revealed to the American people in the form of proclamations after the fact.

3. I made a survey of all Washington news carried on the national wires several years ago and discovered that better than 75 percent was based on pure governmental handout propaganda.

4. One-third of all congressional committee meetings, including all of the appropriation committee meetings wherein our Congressmen decide how the people's tax funds are to be spent, are held secretly. Much of the American people's major legislation is decided behind locked doors, with little restraint from public opinion, and then is railroaded through Congress with a minimum of debate.

From 1955 to 1960 the Hennings committee in the Senate and the Moos committee in the House held countless public hearings and documented in hundreds and hundreds of pages the facts of the secrecy of the bureaucracy and the records of the expenditure of the taxpayer funds.

The appointed bureaucrats declined to give Congress the facts and figures on the expenditure of our foreign aid funds in 1960, and during the next 3 years the U.S. Senate declined to go along with the House of Representatives in an Amendment that would have forced the bureaucrats to have given at least this portion of the records of Federal Government to Congress. I noted at the time in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD that you participated in the Senate debate on this matter. And I might add that the American bureaucracy never has accounted to the American people for one penny of the \$75 billion in foreign aid funds which it has spent since 1945.

The CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is sufficient documentation for the secrecy in congressional actions.

I am bothered a good deal about two particular matters in Federal Government. They are our defense secrecy and our diplomatic secrecy. No patriotic editor, of course, would want to reveal any secret that would help the enemy. In fact, the record of the American press in World Wars I and II and in the cold war is above reproach. Yet this security secrecy deprives the American people of their right of restraint upon their Governors in these two important matters. And I cannot help but wonder if this is the right thing, if an informed American public opinion, forcing our Governors along the path of righteousness and freedom, does not outweigh the danger of the enemy getting our defense secrets. After all, the lives of every man, woman, and child in America are at stake on these two important matters.

Since the close of World War II, the American bureaucrats have spent more than \$600 billion of the people's tax funds, all in secrecy and with very little restraint from the people.

At the same time, Secretary of State Rusk today, just as his recent predecessors did yesterday, does not let his right hand know what his left hand is doing in our international affairs.

Let us see how this works. From 1945 to 1957, the American bureaucrats issued glowing propaganda handouts that decorated the Nation's page 1 to the effect that we were superb in the business of rockets and satellites. Then came Russia's sputniks, blowing our bureaucrats' propaganda into smithereens.

Furthermore, we came out of World War II the most powerful military force in the world's history. Yet in spite of the \$600 billion which our bureaucrats have spent secretly on our defense since then, our military generals repeatedly have testified before congressional committees since 1957 that we are a poor second to Russia as a military power. I cannot help but ask, What goes on in Washington? And can the people, fed only propaganda, be anything but confused and baffled?

In the matter of our diplomatic relations, 50 years ago a President, King, or Emperor could sit in a secret meeting, decide to go to war, and, in most cases, only a professional army was involved. But today when the leader of a nation sits in a secret diplomatic meeting, one boo-boo could cost the lives of millions of citizens. And for this reason, I feel that some sort of restraint from the people should be exerted constantly in all diplomatic negotiations in which our country is involved. After all, the one great force of a free country is the pressure of an informed public opinion standing